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CALVIN'S PROGRAMME FOR A PURITAN STATE IN GENEVA, 1536-1541

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In 1559, the little republic of Geneva was menaced by its former viceroy, the Catholic Duke of Savoy, who had been restored to his hereditary domains by the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis and had begun to take steps to recover the rights which he claimed over Geneva. The Duke's ambassador gave fair words, but a Genevan councillor declined his offer in this Puritan response, "For the sovereignty of God and the Word of God we will hazard our lives." The council promptly voted "to recommend themselves to God and to keep good watch."¹ The response of the councillor and the vote of the council reveal the characteristics bred by twenty-three years of Calvin's programme for a Puritan state in Geneva. A sense of a moral obligation to "hazard life for the sovereignty of God and the Word of God," a quiet trust in God, intelligent preparations for a vigorous defence of God-given liberties through practical human means—these are characteristics of the Puritan. Where he was able to organize the state on these principles, he built up a series of Biblical commonwealths, or Puritan states, Geneva under Calvin and Beza, Scotland under Knox and Melville, the England of Cromwell and Milton, and the Puritan colonies of New England.

The Puritan state was not confined to one people, speech, or region. It won its first triumph among the cosmopolitan popula-

¹ A. Roget, *Histoire du peuple de Genève*, VI, 2-3 (Geneva, 6 vols., 1870-1881).

tion of Geneva, and recruited itself there through exiles for conscience' sake from all lands. It dominated for a time the national life of England and Scotland. Successfully transplanted across the Atlantic, the Puritan state exercised an even more comprehensive and permanent control over a great part of the American colonies. Most, if not all, of its essential characteristics found expression in Holland. France extruded her Puritan stock, but it was a Frenchman who made Puritanism possible in other lands; and the exiled Huguenots impregnated still further with Puritanism those states that ultimately triumphed over France. In all these countries a certain kind of people had their innate moral earnestness moulded by a Hebrew hunger and thirst for righteousness and a French love for logical completeness into a new type, the Puritan. This kind of people thus moulded was able to dominate the national life in Geneva, England, Scotland, and New England, and so to found a new type of state. This Puritan state can be best understood, first, by a historical study of its development in each land, and, second, by a comparative study of the common characteristics and the individual peculiarities of the various states. Any comprehensive definition of the Puritan state should follow such a historical and comparative study. A general idea of the new type of state may be suggested through the figure already used. The Puritan state of Geneva or Massachusetts Bay differed from the ordinary Protestant state as the moulded and tempered steel differs from the iron which went into the blasting furnace. The iron is the basis of the steel, but it has received new ingredients and a new temper, and has been moulded into a different shape. Or, again, the Puritan state differs from the Protestant state somewhat as the Jesuit differs from the ordinary Roman Catholic. The Puritan and the Jesuit are examples of a faith carried to its logical limit with marvellous loyalty and enthusiasm; each is the epitome of a church militant acting on the offensive rather than waiting to act on the defensive.

The earliest programme for a Puritan state is to be found in the first edition of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, completed by John Calvin in 1535 and printed at Basel in 1536. Within the next five years the essentials of the *Institutes* were restated in four other documents adopted by the Genevan state;

and in 1552 the *Institutes* were declared by the Genevan council "to be well and truly made, and their doctrine to be the holy doctrine of God."² In these five documents, from 1536 to 1541, the formative programme of the first Puritan state may be historically traced.

The first edition of Calvin's *Institutes* was a little handbook of 514 pages of small octavo, which could be slipped into the pocket. It was written and printed at a time when Francis I had decided on the policy of forcible repression of the "Lutherans" within the kingdom of France. "The occasion of my publishing the *Institutes*," wrote Calvin, twenty years later, "was this: first, that I might wipe off a foul affront from my brethren, whose death was precious in the sight of the Lord; and, secondly, that, as the same sufferings were impending over many others, at least some interest and sympathy for them might be excited in foreign nations."³ It was at once an *apologia*, a confession of faith, a handbook of theology, and a programme. It contained the premises, though not all the conclusions, of the later editions. All the later editions are less simple, more controversial in their theology, and less winning than the first, and they omit some of its gentler portions. The first edition is divided into six chapters, on the Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the two true and the five false sacraments, with a final chapter "on Christian liberty, ecclesiastical power, and civil government." The striking enlargements in the later editions are in the treatment of such topics as the knowledge of God, the fall of man, predestination, the officers and discipline of the church, and the history of the papacy. The treatment of the church and its function was in-

² Registres du Conseil, 9 Nov. 1552, fol. 301; quoted by Choisy, *La théocratie à Genève au temps de Calvin*—a luminous discussion of the subject, based on careful study of the documents. The standard edition of Calvin's Works (cited throughout this article as *Opera*) was edited by Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss (Brunswick, 1863-1900), in 59 quarto volumes. The *Institutes* are in vols. I-IV. A valuable synopsis, which enables one to compare the matter in the various editions, is in vol. I, pp. l-lviii. The comparison is further aided by the use of different type to illustrate the additions made in the successive editions from 1536 to 1559.

³ *Opera*, XXXI, 23-24, in the Preface to Psalms. Translation in Beveridge, *Calvin's Institutes*, I, p. ix, and in *Comm. on Psalms*, I, p. xi.

creased eightfold in the definitive edition of 1559, while the whole book was increased but fivefold. The fall of man, original sin, the loss of freedom of the will, are increased from two pages in the first to eighty-two in the final edition; while the treatment of civil government is increased by only six pages, and the prefatory address to Francis I is even less changed.

It was but natural, as the book became less of an *apologia* and more a handbook of theology, that the sections dealing with doctrine should be most largely increased. The things that impress a modern reader in comparing the successive editions are, first, Calvin's growing belief in a more representative form of government in church and state; and, second, the unflinching way in which he deduces startling but entirely logical conclusions from his premises.

In the first edition of the *Institutes* Calvin did not attempt to differentiate between bishop and presbyter, but called them both indifferently ministers.⁴ The conception of elders as lay officers and the definition of their function occur first in the edition of 1543, two years after the actual introduction of elders into Geneva.⁵ Similarly, it was after seven years of practical experience with the governments of Geneva and Strasburg that Calvin modified his original declaration of 1536 in favor of aristocracy as the most desirable form of government. In the edition of 1543 he advocated as the best form "either aristocracy or aristocracy tempered with democracy."⁶

A striking illustration of his unshrinking deduction of conclusion from premise is his teaching of double predestination. The first edition of the *Institutes* does not contain any mention of predestination or any explicit teaching of double predestination. The doctrine of election as expounded in the first edition was no new thing, but rather an exposition of the teaching of St. John, St. Paul, and St. Augustine. A modern mind familiar with Calvin's later teaching might deduce double predestination from a phrase in the discussion of Providence; but Calvin certainly did not

⁴ Opera, I, 186: Episcopos et presbyteros promiscue voco ecclesiae ministros. Ordo, est ipsa vocatio.

⁵ Ibid. I, 567.

⁶ Cf. Opera, I, 232 with I, 1105, and with the French edition, IV, 1134.

give the doctrine explicit expression in his first edition. Bretschneider failed to find predestination there, while Kampschulte and Schaff did find it.⁷ No one, however, after reading the first edition would maintain that the idea of double predestination, if held at all, was either a starting-point or a point of essential importance in Calvin's thought in 1536. Whatever the interpretation of a dubious phrase may be, it is quite clear that Calvin started, not with double predestination, but with the twin premises of the absolute sovereignty of God and the authority of the Word of God. But the predestination of the damned as well as the saved was so logical a deduction from his belief in a biblical teaching of damnation and in a God of absolute sovereignty, "without whom nothing comes to pass," that a man of Calvin's logical and unshrinking temper was bound to draw the conclusion. Therefore in the second edition of the *Institutes*, published in 1539, he did not shrink from this startling but logical deduction. "In conformity therefore to the clear doctrine of Scripture we assert that, by an eternal and immutable counsel, God has once for all determined both whom he would admit to salvation and whom he would condemn to destruction."⁸ This, it should be remembered, first appeared in 1539, and had not been stated in the first edition of the *Institutes* nor during Calvin's first stay in Geneva. Double predestination later proved a convenient theological earmark by which to recognize Calvinists. It should however be noted that it is a deduction from more essential premises, namely, "the sovereignty of God and the Word of God." That it is a deduction rather than a premise appears when one considers the logic of Calvin's thought. That it is not the historic starting-point is clear from an examination of the documents in their chronological order. Calvin's ultimate contribution lay not so much in the

⁷ Bretschneider, *Reformationsalmanach*, 1821, p. 76; Kampschulte, *Calvin*, I, 256, note 1; Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, p. 448.

⁸ *Opera*, I, 861 (ed. of 1539): *Hominum alii ad salutem, alii ad damnationem praeordinantur . . . aeterna quoque rerum omnium dispensatio ex Dei ordinatione pendeat*. Ibid. 865: *Aliis vita aeterna, aliis damnatio aeterna praeordinatur . . . Quod ergo scriptura clare ostendit, dicimus Dominum, aeterno ac immutabili consilio semel constituisse quos olim assumeret in salutem, quos rursum exitio devolveret*. In this second edition there is an entire new chapter of forty-one pages devoted to "Predestination and the Providence of God."

new dogma of a double predestination as in the temper of mind which produced the dogma and developed its adherents. The temper of mind has survived the dogma. Calvin's searching examination of premises and his unflinching drawing of conclusions inevitably tended, in religion and education, to develop a spirit of re-examination and eventually a denial of premises. A like spirit in the domain of law led to enforcement, to repeal, or to revolution.

Given in the first place a great leader of men tending toward a more representative form of government in both church and state, second, an unflinching system of re-examining premises and drawing conclusions, and, finally, a type of followers bred to enforce conclusions, and it is not difficult to foresee that such followers of such a leader and system would inevitably tend to develop liberty and self-government far beyond the leader's personal plans for his own generation. "Modern Democracy," as Professor Borgeaud has pointed out, "is the child of the Reformation, not of the reformers."⁹ Modern liberty is the resultant of many forces, and may not be attributed solely to any single era or movement; but at least one line of its ancestry has its roots in the Reformation. Democracy and liberty were not the objects of the Reformers, but they are valuable by-products of the Reformation.

The twin premises with which Calvin starts in his *Institutes* in 1536 are the absolute sovereignty of God and the authority of the Word of God. "God is the only sovereign of souls. Whatever befalls us comes from him." "He is deceived who expects lasting prosperity in that kingdom which is not ruled by the sceptre of God, that is, his Holy Word."¹⁰ "God is not idle." "He holds the helm of the world."¹¹

Trust in such a God gives moral poise. "If we sanctify the Lord of Hosts we shall not be much afraid," wrote the young author in 1536. Three years later, after his humiliation and exile from Geneva, he could add, "The necessary consequences

⁹ C. Borgeaud, *Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England*, p. 2.

¹⁰ *Institutes*, in *Opera*, I, 209, 63, 11-12.

¹¹ *Opera*, I, 63; II, 168, 147, 150 (*Deum mundi gubernacula tenere*).

of this knowledge are gratitude in prosperity, patience in adversity, and a wonderful security respecting the future.”¹² Reinforced by the healthy sense of moral obligation so strong in the Puritan, such a trust gives men moral power. “Let us play the man for our people and for the cities of our God, and let the Lord do that which seemeth him good”—this was Calvin’s stirring counsel twenty years later in that very year when the Genevan councillor replied to the ambassador of Savoy, “For the sovereignty of God and the Word of God we will hazard our lives.” In this same passage, published in the month when Geneva was threatened by Savoy, Calvin taught that sane combination of trust in God with active defence which found expression in the council’s vote “to recommend themselves to God and to keep good watch.” “Joab,” wrote Calvin, “though he acknowledges the event of battle to depend on the will and the power of God, yet surrenders not himself to inactivity, but vigorously executes all the duties of his office, and leaves the event to the divine decision.”¹³ “If our calling (*vocatio*) is indeed of the Lord, as we firmly believe that it is, the Lord himself will bestow his blessing, although the whole universe may be opposed to us. Let us, therefore, try every remedy, while, if such is not to be found, let us, notwithstanding, persevere to the last gasp” (*ad ultimum usque spiritum*).¹⁴

It would be easy to multiply examples of the same spirit “wherever the evangelical movement drank of the spring of the *Institutes*.”¹⁵ On the receipt of the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the council of Geneva ordered that “everyone should hold his arms in readiness and frequent the sermons.”¹⁶ Governor John Winthrop and his companions in the Puritan

¹² Opera, I, 20; II, 895–896.

¹³ Ibid. II, 162.

¹⁴ Ibid. X, ii, 331. Calvin to Farel, March, 1539. Translated in Bonnet, Letters, I, 131.

¹⁵ Kampschulte, J. Calvin, seine Kirche und sein Staat in Genf, I, 447 (Leipzig, 1869). This phrase is applied by Kampschulte to another aspect of Puritanism. Kampschulte was a Catholic (later an “Old Catholic”), and did not live to finish his book. A second volume was published in 1899, after his death; it extended only to 1559.

¹⁶ Borgeaud, Histoire de l’Université de Genève, I, 122.

exodus of 1630, on sighting supposedly hostile Spanish vessels, first put up the defences, armed the men, and tried the weapons; then, "all things being thus fitted, we went to prayer upon the upper deck. . . . Our trust was in the Lord of Hosts; and the courage of our captain and his care and diligence did much encourage us."¹⁷ "Trust in God and keep your powder dry" indicates two Puritan actions, but not the order of the acts. The Puritan first tried the weapons and then "trusted the Lord of Hosts." The guns on the meeting-house at Plymouth, the carefully stacked muskets in the New England house of prayer, the men "with powder-horn and bullet pouch slung across their shoulders while their reverend pastor (who is said to have had the best gun in the parish) prayed and preached with his good gun standing in the pulpit"¹⁸—these are familiar examples of the same spirit of trusting in God and utilizing the wits and weapons he had foreordained. Some Puritans even prayed with their eyes open, possibly in literal fulfilment of the injunction, "Watch and pray." "God made him a heart wherein was left little room for any fear but was due to Him," was the characterization of Oliver Cromwell, by "one who knew him well."¹⁹ The characterization applies well to the Puritan of all lands, bred on the teachings of fear of God and fearless performance of duty. Profoundly convinced that his work in this world and his place in the next were alike marked out for him by the Almighty, the Puritan fearlessly and unflinchingly worked out his other profound conviction, that his daily task was to fulfil his calling however dangerous or however humble. Calvin and the Puritans were saved from fatalism by their practical temper and their sense of moral obligation. Man's obligation to daily fulfilment of God's law was the corollary to the eternal authority of that law. The "Saint's Rest" was to come in the next world; in this world he was to labor at his "calling" and "do all his work." "He who has fixed the limits of our life has also intrusted us with the care of it."²⁰ "It will be no small alleviation of his cares, labors,

¹⁷ Winthrop, *History of New England*, I, 7.

¹⁸ Nathaniel Bouton, *History of Concord, N.H.*, p. 154.

¹⁹ Gardiner, *Cromwell*, p. 319.

²⁰ Opera, II, 157.

troubles, and other burdens, when a man knows that in all these things he has God for his guide. The magistrate will execute his office with greater pleasure; the father of a family will confine himself to his duty with more satisfaction; and all, in their respective spheres of life, will bear and surmount the inconveniences, cares, disappointments, and anxieties which befall them, when they shall be persuaded that every individual has his burden laid upon him by God. . . . There will be no employment so mean and sordid—provided we follow our calling (*vocationi*)—as not to appear truly respectable, and be deemed highly important in the sight of God.”²¹

Calvin's discussion of the church and civil government makes a striking contribution to the development of a Puritan state. The state is distinct from the church, but is bound to co-operate with it. Tyranny on the part of the state is prevented by the Word of God and the constitutions of men, and also by the counterbalancing power of the church. Tyranny on the part of the church is to be prevented through the liberty conferred by Christ. In the conception of the church there is also the profound moral emphasis so characteristic of Calvin and his Puritan followers.

To the ordinary Protestant definition of the church as marked by the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments, Calvin added a third test, “example of life”; the Word of God must be not only preached but “followed.”²² The business of the church is “edification” rather than salvation, for salvation is in the hands of God, “who alone has the power of saving

²¹ Opera, II, 532 (Institutes, Book iii, chap. 10, definitive edition of 1559). The last sentence appeared first in 1539; all the previous portion of the quotation in 1559. The reader who may wish to know something of Calvin's somewhat unpuritanical attitude toward “the right use of present life and its supports” will find this chapter illuminating. Three other passages which will well repay reading are Book i, chaps. 16 and 17 (on Providence and its application), especially section 4; Book iv, chap. 10, “Conscience”; Book ii, chap. 8, sections 28–34, giving his liberal theories as to Sunday. All these may be found in either Allen's translation, published in London, 1813, and by the Presbyterian Board of Publication, Philadelphia, 1841; or in Beveridge's translation, published in Edinburgh, 1845–46, by the Calvin Translation Society; or in the quaint Elizabethan English of Thomas Norton in the nine editions published between 1561 and 1634.

²² Ibid. I, 71, 75, 76, 77.

and destroying.”²³ The Puritan’s motive was not his own salvation—he “trusted God for that”—but rather “zeal to illustrate the glory of God.”²⁴ “Christian living” must be maintained not only by preaching and the sacraments but also by the discipline and excommunication prescribed by the Word of God and practised by the early church. Discipline and excommunication have a threefold object: that evil men in the church may not dishonor God, that they may not corrupt others, and that they may themselves be brought to repentance.²⁵ The church has its own head and its own liberty. “Christ is the sole head of the church and no necessity should be laid upon consciences where Christ has made them free.”²⁶ The church has its own officers and jurisdiction. “Pastors by the word of the Lord may constrain all the glory and rank of the world to obey his majesty, and by that Word may govern all from the highest to the lowest”—a doctrine effectively used against political tyranny or maladministration.²⁷

Church and state are distinct in respect to officers and jurisdiction, in the same sense in which soul and body are distinct; but they must co-operate, for they acknowledge the same sovereignty and have a common object. Civil government has for its objects not only “tranquillity and humanity,” but also “the maintaining of God’s glory unimpaired and the preservation of the honor of divine truth.”²⁸ “Civil government should provide that the true religion which is contained in the law of God be not violated and polluted by public blasphemy.”²⁹ The private citizen must be obedient to the civil government, even if laws and rulers are unjust.³⁰ Here Calvin made his contribution to good order at a time when the Protestant state was in danger of seeing liberty degenerate into license. On the other hand, “princes” are bidden to “hear and fear”; and the doctrine of obedience is safeguarded

²³ Institutes, in Opera, I, 71, 75, 204, 205, 209. Compare these references on edification and salvation with the preface to the Latin catechism of 1538 (Opera, V, 322). The phrase *religionis nostrae puritate* (Opera, V, 318) is one of the many examples of the word whence Puritan is derived.

²⁴ Calvin to Sadolet, 1539, in Opera, V, 391; translated in Beveridge, Calvin’s Tracts, I, 33.

²⁵ Opera, I, 76–77.

²⁶ Ibid. p. 204.

²⁷ Ibid. pp. 208–209.

²⁸ Ibid. I, 11–14.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 230.

³⁰ Ibid. pp. 245, 248.

by a significant reservation and a constitutional provision. "Obedience to the authority of governors may not lead us away from obeying him to whose will the desires of all kings ought to be subject," for "we ought to obey God rather than men." "If there be in the present day any magistrates appointed for the protection of the people and the moderation of the power of kings, such as the ancient ephors . . . or tribunes . . . or perhaps the three estates now in every kingdom, if they connive at kings in their oppression of the humbler of the people (*humili plebeculae*), they betray the liberty of the people of which they know they have been appointed protectors by the ordinance of God."³¹ Many men had repeated Peter's words "we ought to obey God rather than men." Calvin rendered a service to modern liberty, first, by pointing out the modern way in which political tyranny could be constitutionally checked; and, second, by training up a type of men with the moral poise and the moral power necessary for a constitutional revolution and self-government. Men of this Puritan type, bred on Calvin's doctrine and discipline, checked political tyranny in Holland, Scotland, England, and America, and justify the dictum of Gardiner, that, "as a religious belief for individual men, Calvinism was eminently favorable to the progress of liberty."³²

With this programme marked out in his "little book," Calvin came to Geneva in 1536, at a moment critical not only in the history of the city but of Protestantism. Geneva had just won her independence from bishop and duke, and accepted the authority of the Word of God. Nominally Protestant, it was far from being a Puritan state. Geneva on Calvin's arrival was a little republic of not over 13,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,000 to 1,500 were citizens capable of voting in the primary assembly.³³ In addition to the walled city, there were included under the jurisdiction of the city about twenty-eight villages on both sides of

³¹ Opera, I, 248.

³² Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *History of England, 1603 to 1642*, I, 24.

³³ E. Mallet, *Recherches historiques et statistiques sur la population de Genève, 1549-1833* (Paris, 1837). Mallet concludes that the population never exceeded 13,000 in the 16th century. Mallet gives the above estimate of voting citizens in his *La Suisse historique et pittoresque*, II, 552 (Geneva, 1855-1866).

the Rhone and Lake Geneva. Geneva was practically an independent republic. It was not a member of the Swiss confederation, though it was an ally of Bern. France had also espoused the cause of Geneva in order to check Savoy. The little republic had no intention of allowing either ally to control her. When the chiefs of the Bernese army in 1536 asked for what was practically a suzerainty, the magistrates and councillors replied, "We have endured war against both the Duke of Savoy and the bishops for seventeen to twenty years . . . not because we had the intention of making the city subject to any power, but because we wished the poor city which had so much warred and suffered to have its liberty."³⁴ All political and religious control was in the hands of four councils: the *Conseil Général*, or primary assembly; the Council of Two Hundred; the comparatively unimportant Council of Sixty; and the Council of Twenty-five. This smallest council, commonly called the Little Council (*Petit Conseil*), was by far the most important body in the state. It included the four syndics, or chief magistrates, the treasurer, and the four syndics of the previous year, all elected by the primary assembly; and also sixteen other councillors elected by the Council of Two Hundred. It possessed large and somewhat undefined executive and judicial, as well as legislative, powers. It was with this Little Council that the Reformers ordinarily had dealings. These councils had introduced the reformation, and they continued to control ecclesiastical property, to hire and dismiss "preachers," to declare parishioners freed from excommunication, and to pass any legislation regarding religious matters which they saw fit. The civil authorities in 1536 did not recognize, and could not have recognized, the church as an organized body; for no such body had any legal or definitely established standing. It is doubtful if the thought of the church as a distinct institution in Protestant Geneva had occurred to the matter-of-fact magistrates and councillors who had just got rid of the claims of a troublesome ecclesiastical prince. The only cases of the use of the word "church" noted in the records of the councils for 1536 refer to the church building, with two exceptions: one the use of "church" by a good Roman Catholic, Balard, who before Calvin's

³⁴ Registres du Conseil, XXIX, fol. 11^{ro} and 12^{ro}.

arrival had been threatened with banishment for his views; and the other its use in a statement that Farel proposed "articles concerning the government of the church."³⁵ Calvin's description is historically correct: "When I first came, there was practically nothing in this church. There was preaching, and that was all. The idols were sought out and burned, but there was no reformation."³⁶ There was no definition or control of membership; no officers subject to church control; no property in the hands of the church; and no creed adopted by the church. There was simply the general body of citizens maintaining preaching and the sacraments under the control of the councils without any church organization. The records of the council regularly describe Calvin and Farel simply as "preachers" (*predicans, prescheurs*) until the negotiations for Calvin's recall in 1540, when he is addressed as "minister."³⁷ Calvin recognized the distinction, and complained in a letter to Bullinger, "the common people regard us as preachers rather than pastors."³⁸

The religious situation in Geneva before Calvin's reorganization was much like that in other Protestant cities; for the introduction of Lutheran or Zwinglian reforms had not included the establishment of an organic church. A Lutheran or Zwinglian church was in practice largely controlled by the civil power, and was practically regarded as a phase of the state, not as a corporate entity. Luther had rightly found his forte in preaching and writing rather than in organizing. "Luther," a modern German scholar picturesquely writes, "when he had preached and sowed the seed of the Word, left to the Holy Spirit the care of producing the fruit, while with his friend Philip he peacefully drank his glass of Wittenberg beer." As the same German jurist and historian has pointed out, "the independence of the church is a Reformed and not a Lutheran principle."³⁹ Meanwhile Catholi-

³⁵ Opera, XXI, 206, Nov. 10, 1536.

³⁶ Ibid. IX, 891.

³⁷ Ibid. XI, 94; XXI, 272.

³⁸ 21 Feb. 1538. Opera, X, ii, 154; in Bonnet, Letters, I, 66: *Vulgus hominum concionatores nos magis agnoscit quam pastores.*

³⁹ Professor K. Rieker, in the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* (Leipzig), translated by E. Choisy in *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* (Lausanne,

cism still maintained the mediaeval theory of the supremacy of the church over the state. The way was therefore open in 1536 for a new conception of church and state as two distinct and balanced organisms, each co-operating with the other.

The general situation in Europe in religion and morals needed a greater legislator and organizer than existed among the Lutherans or Zwinglians. The years in which Calvin was endeavoring to reform the church and state constituted a critical period for both Protestant and Catholic. In 1535, when Calvin was writing his *Institutes*, there occurred the collapse of both the fanatical Anabaptists at Münster and the over-ambitious commercial democracy of the Baltic led by Wullenweber. The vicissitudes of Henry VIII's matrimonial and ecclesiastical changes were not adding to the reputation of the Reformation for piety or singleness of motive among its political leaders. The same year in which Calvin published his *Institutes* witnessed in England the dissolution of the smaller monasteries and the transfer of their property to the crown, the death of Henry's first wife, the execution of his second, and his marriage to his third on the following day. Henry VIII., in Calvin's opinion, was "scarcely half-wise."⁴⁰ The wives of Philip of Hesse were even more synchronous than Henry's, and his bigamy in 1540, connived at by Luther and Melancthon, proved a severe blow to the political and religious leadership of the German Reformation. France had adopted the policy of persecution of Protestants since their placards of 1534 attacking the Mass. In 1536, the death of the humanistic reformer Lefèvre and the publication of Calvin's *Institutes* mark the transition from the earlier humanistic to the later Calvinistic reform. Erasmus, humanist and satirist rather than reformer, died in the same year at Basel, where only four months earlier Calvin had seen his *Institutes* issue from the press. To none of these earlier leaders was the definitive leadership of the reform to fall. A greater organizing power and moral force, a man of Calvin's

1900), separate reprint, p. 19. See also Rieker, *Grundsätze Reformierter Kirchenverfassung* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 64-71; see especially p. 70: "sind die Lutherischen Landeskirchen Anstalten des öffentlichen Rechts, nicht Genossenschaften."

⁴⁰ Opera, X, ii, 328: Rex ipse vix dimidia ex parte sapit. Translated in Bonnet, *Letters*, I, 125; Calvin to Farel, Strasburg, March 16, 1539.

"architectonic genius in knowledge and practical life," in the words of Dorner, was needed to take the next step. Such a man was necessary to save Protestantism from becoming the tool of social anarchy and political absolutism, or from remaining a nerveless and unmoral phase of intellectual life.

These were also critical years for the papacy, which was debating an inclusive reform capable of taking in the Lutherans, but which finally turned from Luther and Contarini and Pole to Loyola. In the same year that Calvin arrived at Geneva, Paul III nominated to the cardinalate men of the reform party like Contarini, Pole, and Sadolet, and appointed a commission to report on needed reforms. Their scathing indictment was presented to the Pope the same year in which Farel and Calvin submitted to the Genevan council their "Articles" on the organization of the church. The failure of the attempt at compromise between Catholic and Lutheran at the Ratisbon conference in 1541 was one more proof that the conflict was inevitable. The date is eloquent. It was in that same year 1541 that Calvin, recalled from exile, secured the adoption of his Ecclesiastical Ordinances, the programme for a Puritan state, and that Loyola was elected General of the newly established Society of Jesus. Calvin and Loyola, both at the same college in Paris within the same twelvemonth, each under trial from 1536 to 1538, and both armed with a new organization and new powers in 1541—these were the men to lead the two new forms of organized and militant Christianity, the Reformed Churches and the Society of Jesus, the two new types of men, the Puritan and the Jesuit.

Geneva on Calvin's arrival presented a picture interesting for its apparently contradictory phases and its exuberant vitality. It did not present an inviting field for a Puritan programme. Calvin consented to stay in Geneva only because of Farel's dramatic appeal to the conscience which bade him remain and struggle rather than return to Basel to the peaceful life of a scholar which he craved. Between the Calvin of the *Institutes* and the Geneva of 1536, between his legal mind and Puritan conscience and their thoughtlessness and love of pleasure, there was a profound difference. No one recognized more clearly than Calvin this essential difference of innate characteristics (*ingenium*).

"They will not be tolerable to me, nor I to them," he wrote four years later when the Genevans were seeking to recall him.⁴¹ Conscience, not compatibility, compelled Calvin to remain in Geneva in 1536 and to return to the task in 1541. The Genevans were a cosmopolitan people, of French, Italian, and German descent, and of complex characteristics. Their complex characteristics presented to the reformer grave difficulties. Their cosmopolitan character offered an opportunity for an international and adaptable type of reform radiating from a cosmopolitan centre. At their worst the Genevans of 1536 were loose-tongued, riotous, "thoughtless and devoted to their pleasures," as their own Bonivard confessed. At their best they were keen-witted, shrewd in business, sagacious in city politics, deft in international diplomacy, and mettlesome in defence of their liberties. Their thoughtlessness and love of pleasure made Calvin's task a difficult one. Their keen business sense and administrative power, their political sagacity and their mettlesomeness, made it possible to transform their obstinacy from the plane of politics to that of religion, and to make the next generation as keen in defence of the Ten Commandments and the *Institutes* as their fathers had been in defence of their *franchises* and their political liberty. It was a city where merchants and artisans had been trained to use the sword. In 1461 it had been ordered "that every one should have a sword behind the door in the front of his house, or in the workshop of his house."⁴² Genevans had the inborn temper to which Calvin's unflinching teaching could appeal; and they possessed the skill and hardihood to carry out a programme to which they should once devote themselves. They were more skilful politicians than the young author of twenty-seven; and "that Frenchman" (*ille Gallus*) had many hard lessons to learn from grave magistrate and witty populace before he was able to beat them at their own game. On the other hand, Calvin, with his broad and scholarly training in classics theology and law, his profound scholarship, his unwavering devotion to a single purpose, his definite programme and his organizing genius, was the one man

⁴¹ Opera, XI, 91.

⁴² Registres du Conseil de Genève, II (1461-1477), 75, Dec. 10, 1461. Société d'Histoire de Genève, 1906.

fitted to mould the mettlesome but plastic republic into a Puritan State.⁴³

In January, 1537, "Farel and the other preachers," including Calvin, took the first decisive step in the formulation of the new programme. They presented to the Genevan council articles concerning the organization of the church.⁴⁴ These Articles, evidently drawn from the *Institutes*, are Calvin's attempt to apply his fundamental ideas to a specific situation. Starting and ending with the "Word of God," the Articles propose six things as essential: a communion service frequently and reverently celebrated, if possible once a month; "the discipline of excommunication"; a common confession of faith; singing of psalms in public worship; the religious training of children; and marriage laws in conformity to the Word of God.

The first article includes both the communion and "the discipline of excommunication," for to Calvin's mind discipline, "the nerve of the church," was essential to a reverent observance of communion. In this article two points in the Puritan programme are emphasized; the moral obligation resting on the individual, and the moral responsibility for its members resting upon the church as an organization. Calvin's emphasis on the communion was ethical rather than dogmatic. His attitude was practical rather than mystical, and he concerned himself rather with the character of the communicant than with the character of the bread and wine. The essential question was not whether Christ was present in the bread and wine, but whether he was present in the life of the communicant. "The principal point is . . . that those who show by their wicked and iniquitous life that

⁴³ For a study of "Geneva before Calvin" see an article by the writer in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1903, especially p. 239, and note 2.

⁴⁴ The Articles are in Opera, X, 5-14; and in the extremely valuable and scholarly work of A. L. Herminjard, *Correspondance des réformateurs dans les pays de langue française*, IV, 154-166 (9 vols., 1512-1544, Geneva, 1866-1897). See in Herminjard, notes 1, 6, 7, 11, on similarities between *Institutes* and Articles. Calvin had been engaged on a French version of his "little book" after his arrival in Geneva. See his letter in Opera, X, 63, translated in Bonnet, Calvin's Letters, I, 45. The document is simply indorsed, "Articles bailles par les prescheurs." Modern authors like Kampschulte, Herminjard, Roget, Walker, and the editors of the Opera confirm the contemporary statement of Beza and Colladon that Calvin was the author of the Articles.

they in no wise belong to Jesus should not come to communicate with him." "All those who wish to have Jesus for their life should participate in the communion," was the statement in the confession of faith adopted a few months later, in accordance with the proposals in the Articles.⁴⁵ In order to secure this ethical aim of "Christian living" and to check "iniquitous life unworthy of a Christian," the Articles recommended the following method for enforcing the "discipline of excommunication enjoined by the Lord, upon his church in the 18th of St. Matthew." It was a method almost unknown among Protestant churches, and it was put into practice in Geneva only after eighteen years of bitter struggle.⁴⁶ It was little less than revolutionary in its implication of the church as a distinct organism with powers of its own. Calvin recommended that the council should appoint "in every quarter of the city certain persons of good life and reputation and a constancy not easy to corrupt." These persons should "have an eye on the life of every one," and report "any notable vice" to a minister for private admonition. If this is unheeded, the offender should be threatened with report to the church. "If he recognizes his fault, then there is great profit from this discipline." If he still refuses to listen, he is to be denounced by the minister in the assembly; and if he still "persists in hardness of heart," he is to be excommunicated. No provision is made as to how or by whom excommunication was to be pronounced; but that the power was vested in the church and not in the state is clear from a succeeding paragraph: "Beyond this correction the church cannot go," but it shall be the duty of the council to prevent "mockery of God and of his gospel" on the part of any "who do nothing but laugh at being excommunicated." The persons to be corrected thus are "those named by St. Paul," "a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer (*maldisans*), or a drunkard, or an extortioner," as the Genevan New Testament

⁴⁵ Articles, Opera, X, 8; Confession, Opera, XXII, 92.

⁴⁶ For the ideas of Bucer, Oecolampadius, and Melanchthon on discipline see Cornelius, *Historische Arbeiten*, pp. 373-4 and 378, and his references to Rich-ter, *Evangelische Kirchenordnungen*, I, 158, and to Melanchthon, *Corpus Reformatorum*, IV, 547 (ed. Bretschneider, 1837). Cf. Kampschulte, Calvin, I, 391, and note 2.

and the King James version alike translated the passage quoted by Calvin (1 Cor. 5 11).

Calvin's practical and organizing temper thus led him to urge a system of discipline as a means of training or rejecting members already in the church. Discipline of morals was no new thing in Geneva or other cities.⁴⁷ Calvin's new step was in making systematic provision for the enforcement of scriptural morals by a scriptural church re-enforced by the co-operation of the state. He wished to restore to the Protestant church the practice which proved "of singular utility and advancement to Christianity" in the primitive church (*anciennement*), until "wicked bishops, or rather brigands, turned it into tyranny."⁴⁸

In order that the church might be properly instituted, two other steps were necessary. First, "the right beginning of a church" required "that all the inhabitants should make confession of their faith and give reasons for it," in order to show that they were "united in one church." Second, in order that future generations might preserve "purity of doctrine . . . and be able to give reasons for their faith," the children should be instructed at home by their parents in a simple catechism, and then be examined and, if necessary, further taught by the minister until pronounced "sufficiently instructed." Calvin did not in the Articles formally state the doctrine of an independent church which he had already stated in his *Institutes*. That would have been impolitic, had he wished to do so. What he did do was to take certain practicable steps toward a more independent church. The three steps were: determination of present membership by a creed; admission of future members by a catechism; and discipline of morals as a means for both training and pruning membership. Such steps would in time produce an independent church with organic life of its own.

⁴⁷ See "Geneva before Calvin," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1903, pp. 229-231, and notes. Vincent, "European Blue Laws," in *Annual Report Amer. Hist. Assoc.*, 1897, pp. 356-372; and Lindsay, *Reformation*, II, 107-113. Principal Lindsay's characterization of the Genevan excommunication as "not in a way conformable to his [Calvin's] ideas" is applicable to the period before 1555, but hardly to the later period, when the consistory had secured the right of excommunication. See Choisy, *Théocratie à Genève*, pp. 165-166.

⁴⁸ *Opera*, X, 9.

The final article requested that a joint commission of magistrates and ministers be appointed to settle existing marriage causes and to draw up ordinances according to the Word of God for the decision of future cases. The Genevan councils in their reply to the preachers' memorial displayed a characteristic willingness to admit the theoretical authority of the Word of God and an equally characteristic unwillingness to lessen their own authority or to enforce any thorough-going programme. The councils were not accustomed to regard the Word as a means for lessening their power. They therefore reserved to themselves the decision of marriage causes, and declined to associate the preachers with themselves in joint commission. They also declined to increase the frequency of communion. In lieu of the new system vesting discipline in the church, they reaffirmed an old vote charging two councillors with the general supervision of morals in the city. This was merely a vote to continue the ordinary municipal police supervision common to Geneva and other cities of that day. In view of the councils' previous policy, their votes at this time, and their later refusal to allow the preachers to exclude any one from the communion, it is quite clear that a vague vote, "the rest of the articles is passed," meant actually that the councils did not propose to alter their historic and continuous policy of control of religion and morals, or to recognize any new order of things; but simply that there was to be a confession and catechism. If one comes to the councils' vote from a study of their records in the *Registres du Conseil*, it is evident that the magistrates had no intention of sharing jurisdiction with the ministers or of conferring powers on a "church." As we have already seen, the councils did not use the word "church" in their votes at this period, though Calvin used it in his Articles. On the other hand, if one approaches the situation from Calvin's point of view as revealed in the *Institutes*, the Articles, and his letters, it is equally clear that he had in mind the bestowal of certain rights upon the church as an organization. Calvin and the council were approaching the question at issue from such totally different conceptions of a church that they did not understand each other. So modern writers, failing to note the two points of view of Calvin and the council, and failing to scrutinize carefully the somewhat jumbled

votes of the councils, have been apt to attach too much importance to their somewhat vague vote. Calvin knew what he wanted, and was working on long lines; but he did not get the essential thing that he asked for in 1537.⁴⁹ A year later he wrote to Bullinger, "It appears to me that we shall have no lasting church unless that ancient apostolic discipline be completely restored, which in many respects is much needed among us."⁵⁰ He had to demand the same things in 1538 and again in 1541, and won them all only in 1555.

Quite different from the opportunist policy of the council was the thorough-going Puritan temper of the preachers' closing appeal: "If you see that these warnings and exhortations are truly from the Word of God, consider of what importance and consequence they are for maintaining the honor of God in its proper state and the church in its entirety (*en son entier*) . . . and do not spare yourselves in diligently putting them into execution. . . And do not be moved by any difficulty which any one may find

⁴⁹ Even Professor Walker, the author of the latest and the most judicious life of Calvin, does not seem to the writer to take this difference in point of view between Calvin and the council quite sufficiently into account or to scrutinize sufficiently the blanket vote of the council, "the rest of the articles is passed." He says (p. 192), the councils "promptly adopted the Articles with slight reservations" (mentioning the marriage questions and the monthly communion), and then adds, "but the plan which Farel and Calvin had presented became the law of Geneva in its essential features." This seems to neglect the following facts: (1) one of the "essential features," if not the essential feature, "discipline of excommunication," was a part of the article on the communion, and so probably went by the board with the refusal to adopt monthly communion; (2) the vote of the Little Council was modified by the vote of the Council of Two Hundred, which made it clear that it was the magistrates who were still to continue to look after morals and see that the city "lived according to God"; (3) the council had already exercised the right of excommunication, and refused it to the ministers the first time it was suggested; (4) the right of excommunication remained a bone of contention until 1555; (5) the only things actually done were the adoption of creed and catechism; (6) Calvin himself felt the thing essential to a "lasting church" had not been done, and was obliged again in 1538 to insist upon the adoption of the same thing as a condition of his return. The votes of the councils are in Opera, XXI, 206-207. For earlier and later votes see Amer. Hist. Rev., Jan., 1903, p. 227, note 6, and Herminjard, IV, 26, and Opera, XXI, 220. For modern comments see Kampschulte, Calvin, I, 289, 290; Roget, I, 23; Cornelius, Historische Arbeiten, p. 137, who suggests with reason that their votes may not have been quite clear to the councils themselves.

⁵⁰ Opera, X, ii, 154; Bonnet, Letters, I, 66.

in these matters. For when we offer ourselves in fulfilment of that which has been ordained (*ordonne*) for us by God we should hope that of his goodness he will cause our enterprise to prosper and will conduct it to a good end."

A catechism and confession of faith were promptly printed by the state.⁵¹ The catechism briefly restated in French the fundamental teachings of the *Institutes*. Like the *Institutes* it closes with the principle, "we ought to obey God rather than men." The confession of faith was an extract from the catechism. It is a document of great simplicity and power, admirably adapted for the creed of a newly reformed community. Like the *Institutes* and the Articles it begins and ends with the twin premises of the sovereignty of God and the Word of God, and the corollary of man's obligation to obey the law of God. "Since his will is the sole rule of all justice, we confess that our whole life ought to be regulated by the commandments of his holy law."⁵² The Ten Commandments, which directly follow this declaration, became the moral constitution to which every inhabitant of Geneva had to take public and solemn oath. Sworn allegiance to the moral law as summed up in the Ten Commandments became an official test of good citizenship and social standing as well as of church membership. On the other hand, the moral obligation of "all Christians to obey statutes and ordinances which do not contravene the commandments of God" had its logical converse of Christian liberty. "All laws made to bind men's consciences to things not commanded by God and tending to break Christian liberty are perverse doctrines of Satan."⁵³ This clause, in what was probably the first Protestant creed to be adopted by a representative body and sworn to and permanently observed by the inhabitants of a republic, contains the same significant political principle already noted in the *Institutes*. This germ of liberty,

⁵¹ In Opera, XXII, 33-96; and in Rilliet et Dufour, Catéchisme français de Calvin (Geneva, 1878). For facts regarding the actions of council see Herminjard, IV, 185, notes 8-10; Rilliet et Dufour, xxxii, lx-lxi; Registres du Conseil for April 27, 1537, quoted in Opera, XXI, 210-211. Calvin afterwards revised the catechism in the form of question and answer. In this form it became the basis of religious instruction of the Reformed Churches. Fourteen editions were printed in English alone before the Puritan exodus to New England in 1630.

⁵² Opera, XXII, 86.

⁵³ Ibid. XXII, 95, 92.

coupled with that other provision of the *Institutes* for constitutional revolution, was to be used effectively later by Huguenots, Dutch, Scotch, English, and New Englanders in resistance to tyranny. In his provision for means to check religious and political tyranny through the Word of God and the constitutions of men, Calvin made a contribution reaching far beyond his own personal intentions. His services here cannot be gainsaid on account of his failure to provide for freedom of individual consciences, or to avoid all tyranny on the part of the church, or to make thoroughgoing distinction between church and state. His tendency is clear; and the later Puritan movement will be found to have blazed a rough trail in the direction of larger liberty, even though with halting and sometimes wandering steps. It was not possible to have complete liberty in Geneva in 1536, before Calvin or after Calvin. It was not essential that there should be a clear-cut academic distinction between church and state. It was of profound importance that there should be laid down and worked out in the middle of the sixteenth century such a rational, legal, and practicable means of checking the tyranny of either the church or the state as should contribute to the ultimate liberty of both. Men will always differ about so profound a personality as John Calvin, but one is astonished that a scholar of Lord Acton's reputation should so misrepresent both Calvin's words and his deeds as to say of him, "There was nothing in the institutes of men, no authority, no right, no liberty, that he cared to preserve, or towards which he entertained any feeling of reverence or obligation."⁵⁴

The Confession reaffirms the profoundly ethical emphasis already noted in the *Institutes* and Articles. It was more than a creed: it was a religious and social compact. Professedly following the examples of the covenants of the Old Testament, it was the forerunner of the Scottish National Covenant of 1638, the Solemn League and Covenant signed by the English Parliament in 1643, and the covenants entered into by the early New England town churches. As a practical working standard for the special needs of Geneva, the Confession went further than Calvin's earlier documents, and doubled the kinds of "rotten members" who might be disciplined with excommunication. To the "forni-

⁵⁴ Acton, *History of Liberty*, I, 178.

cator, idolater, railer, drunkard," are now added "manifest murderers, thieves, false witnesses, seditious persons, brawlers (*noiseulx, jurgatores*), slanderers (*detraicteurs*), fighters (*bateurs*), and spendthrifts (*dissipateurs de biens*)." The list in the Articles had been based on the injunction of St. Paul. The list of offences in the confession of faith is based also on the Ten Commandments, and made their acceptance by the inhabitants of Geneva mean something. The list is however even more comprehensive than the Ten Commandments, for it adds the offences of sedition, quarrelling, slander, fighting, wastefulness, and drunkenness. The additions are significant, for they mark the special offences which were felt by Calvin and Farel to need discipline in Geneva. That there was no mention of Sabbath-breaking will not surprise one who is familiar with Calvin's markedly liberal and practical interpretation of this commandment. The later and sometimes superstitious observance of the Sabbath was the work of smaller and more literal minds than Calvin's. He recognized the "abrogation of what was ceremonial in this command," and wished to retain its fundamental and permanent purposes of a day for common worship and "relaxation from labor for servants and workmen and animals." His sound method was to interpret the commandment in the light of the Christian liberty of the gospel; to preserve the kernel and throw away the shell. The social and economic purposes of the day appear in the second edition of the catechism. "This [commandment] conduces to public order (*police*). For every one gets in the habit of working the rest of the time when there is one day of repose." Calvin and the Puritan did not forget the positive portion, the six-sevenths of the commandment, "six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work." Possibly the inclusion of "spendthrifts" among the offenders subject to excommunication was regarded by Calvin as a logical inference from the commandment to work.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ The discussion of the commandment in the first edition of the Institutes is in Opera, I, 36-38. The provision for rest for animals here included is, with the provision in the Massachusetts Body of Liberties of 1641 (see articles 92-93, "Off the Bruite Creature"), an interesting example of the Hebrew element in Calvin and the Puritans. The discussion in the Catechism of 1537 is in Opera, XXII, 41-42; that in the Catechism of 1542 is in Opera, VI, 65. The passage in the final edition of the Institutes is not essentially different from that in the first,

In view of this comprehensive list of offences which might subject "the deserter from the army" to such a military conception of discipline, it is not surprising that many of the inhabitants of Geneva were not enthusiastic "to enroll themselves under the banner of Christ."⁵⁶ The attempt by the council to enforce upon all inhabitants a public oath to the confession precipitated a crisis. After repeated attempts, the council felt obliged to threaten with the customary Genevan penalty of banishment those who refused the oath. Even then some delayed from July to November before complying. For refusal to swear, coupled with other offences, only two women and one man-servant were actually banished. Yet even then, in response to the summons of the council as late as November 12, not one person came from one of the important streets of the city.⁵⁷ The ground of objection to the confession is significant. It was not the doctrine but the discipline that was objected to. The confession was remarkably simple in doctrine. It contained no mention of the Trinity, original sin, predestination, or of eternal punishment; no mention of heaven or hell, save as they occur in the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. It was a confession which emphasized the moral obligation of man, his conduct rather than his creed. It was, says the contemporary chronicler, Roset, "the point of excommunication that was a bit troublesome (*un peu fâcheux*) to the opponents."

and may be found in the English translation in Book ii, chap. 8, sections 28-34. The editor of the sixth American edition of Allen's translation naively wrote in his "Advertisement," "It is much to be lamented that so great a mind should have been led astray on so important a point."

⁵⁶ These and other military phrases are in Calvin's preface to the Latin edition of the Catechism, 1538, Opera, V, 319, 321; also in French translation in Rilliet et Dufour, Catéchisme, pp. 133, 137. This preface, written during the bitter fight of 1537-38, breathes a strikingly militant spirit and a spirit of liberty. Cf. Opera, V, 322; Rilliet, p. 142.

⁵⁷ The various votes of the council are in Registres du Conseil, XXX, fols. 208, 212, 219, 222; XXXI, fols. 32, 61, 81, 90, March 13-Nov. 15, 1537. The votes are reprinted in Opera, XXI, 208-217. For the banishments see also Roget, Hist. du peuple de Genève, I, 42-45. The street from which no one came was the Rue des Allamans. This street had in the Council of Two Hundred twelve representatives in 1535, and at least three in 1538. MS. Rolle du Conseil des CC (Dartmouth College Library); Registres du Conseil, 12 Feb. 1538, XXXI, fol. 191^{ro}.

The popular objection went straight to the heart of the matter, and balked at just what the Puritan programme insisted upon—the real enforcement of the moral law by an organization whose business was morals and not politics. “The ten commandments of God are hard to observe,” and “they who swear to observe them are regarded as perjurers”—these were the objections which were heard at table and in the council chamber.⁵⁸ The feeling of the populace is shown by the wits who went about the streets and taverns, mocking the preachers, and saluting their supporters with the query, “Art thou one of the brothers in Christ? by God, you will be sorry for it.”⁵⁹ Even the council favorable to the preachers and ready to enforce the oath to the confession refused in January 1538 to permit the preachers to exclude any one from the approaching communion.⁶⁰

The annual elections resulted in a complete defeat for the magistrates of 1537, who had been favorable to the preachers. In February 1538 these men were replaced by the most bitter opponents of the preachers and their Puritan programme. The newly elected magistrates speedily secured control of the councils by deposing the remaining partisans of the preachers on accusations of treasonable dealings with France. The Council of Two Hundred then, on March 11—the same day on which it deposed the councillors favorable to the preachers—extended their declaration of war to the ministers themselves by two significant votes. The council voted “that the preachers be notified that they are not to mix up in politics but to preach the gospel of God; and further to live in the Word of God according to the ordinances of Bern.”⁶¹ These votes were two blows directed at two points in the preachers’ programme; namely, liberty of preaching and

⁵⁸ Roset, *Chroniques de Genève*, Liv. iv, ch. 9 (ed. Fazy, Geneva, 1894). The objections are recorded in *Registres du Conseil* for 26 Nov. 1537 (printed in *Opera*, XXI, 217, and in Roget, *Histoire*, I, 43).

⁵⁹ *Registres du Conseil* for 26 Nov. 1537 and 16 Jan. 1538, in *Opera*, XXI, 217, 222; Roset, *Chroniques*, Liv. iv, ch. 10; and Roget, I, 68; *Opera*, XXI, 217.

⁶⁰ *Opera*, XXI, 220.

⁶¹ The votes of the council are printed in Herminjard, *Correspondance*, IV, 403, note 2, and in Cornelius, *Historische Arbeiten*, 159, note 1. On the deposition of the preachers’ partisans from the Council of Twenty-five see Roget, *Histoire*,

liberty of worship; or, as they expressed it in the confession, freedom from "all laws made to bind men's consciences to things not commanded by God and tending to break Christian liberty."⁶² "The ordinances of Bern" were certain regulations prescribing to the churches under its jurisdiction the observance of four ecclesiastical holidays and certain methods of administering communion and baptism. The Genevan ministers had a right to feel that they should have been consulted by the magistrates regarding the adoption of such ordinances, and it was the intention of Bern that they should be.⁶³ But they were refused even their request that no innovations should be introduced until the question could be discussed by a church synod. The ministers were clearly standing for the rights of the church against a manifestly ill-considered demand for immediate and "servile conformity" to the ordinances of another city. Calvin cared little about ceremonies, but he cared much about "edification" and the rights of the church. "In things where the Lord has granted us liberty for the great end of edification it would be unworthy to introduce a servile conformity which does not edify," he wrote during the conflict.⁶⁴ His objections to civil interference with the ministers' liberty of preaching the Word he voiced in a letter to Farel when the subject of his recall was under discussion a year later: "If I shall speak a word which is unpleasant for them to hear, forthwith they will enjoin silence."⁶⁵

The issue of the liberty of the church assumed an acute stage the Friday before Easter, when Coraud, one of the preachers,

I, 75, and note 2. The new magistrates of 1538 were the more bitter as they had themselves been defeated in the election of 1537. The bitter party struggle between the ins and the outs during these two years may be followed in Roget or Cornelius.

⁶² Opera, XXII, 92.

⁶³ The letter of Bern to the Genevan council is in Herminjard, IV, 403; cf. Cornelius, p. 160, and also the later letter of Bern, Herminjard, IV, 416. The four festivals were Christmas, Circumcision (New Year's), Annunciation, and Ascension; see Herminjard, IV, 413, note 17, and V, 137, note 9.

⁶⁴ Opera, V, 322.

⁶⁵ Ibid. X, ii, 325, Calvin to Farel, Strasburg, 16 March 1539. Translated in Bonnet, Letters, I, 121.

was summoned before the council for criticisms made in his sermon, and threatened with imprisonment if he preached again. On the day after this threat against their fellow-minister, Calvin and Farel gave their first definite refusal to administer the communion according to the Bernese form. Next day Coraud preached and was imprisoned. To the demand for his release the council made a counter-demand that the preachers "obey the said letter of Messrs of Bern." "The said preachers replied they were unwilling to act save as God has commanded them."

Calvin and Farel state that the council was ready to accept their proposal for postponement of the question of ceremonies, provided the preachers would consent to the deposition of Coraud, but that they would not consent to this "against the express prohibition of Scripture."⁶⁶ The issue was clearly drawn between the church's newly-demanded liberty in preaching and ceremonies and the customary right of the caesaropapist state to full jurisdiction in religious matters.

Each side preferred to fight it out rather than compromise. On Saturday the sheriff brought to Calvin a renewed request from the council that he "preach and administer the communion next day according to the form in the letter" from Bern. Calvin replied that the council "had not observed the tenor of said letter," having failed to consult with the ministers,⁶⁷ and that he was "unwilling to administer the communion as contained in the said letter." He was then warned not to preach. During the night before Easter the populace shot off muskets before the doors of the preachers, threatened to throw them into the Rhone if they refused to give them the communion next day, and with characteristically keen wit and loose tongue made obscene puns on "the Word of God as the Ordure of God."⁶⁸ The next day, Easter Sunday, April 21, 1538, both Farel and Calvin preached, in spite of the prohibition; and, in spite of the council's orders,

⁶⁶ Opera, X, ii, 188; Herminjard, IV, 424. Farel and Calvin, 27 April 1538, to the Council of Bern.

⁶⁷ The council of Bern had written, "avec vous ministres Calvin et Farel amiablement sur ce convenir." Herminjard, IV, 416, and Cornelius, 174, note 1.

⁶⁸ Roset, Chroniques, Liv. iv, ch. 17: "Ils crioient la petolle de Dieu, parlans de la parole." Cf. Herminjard, IV, 426.

they refused to administer the communion to a people guilty of such "disorders" and "ridicule of the Word of God."⁶⁹ The general council of all the citizens promptly voted on Tuesday, April 23, that "Faret" and Calvin should leave the city within three days. The replies of the preachers to the sheriff are reported to the council and gravely entered in their daily record. "Very well," replied Calvin, "had we served men we should have been ill rewarded, but we serve a great master who will give us our reward." "Good," said Farel, "it is God's will." In marked contrast to the Puritan temper of the preachers was the old-time levity of the Genevese. Farel had been nicknamed by the popular wits "Faret," a burned-out candle-end. After his exile the populace paraded the streets with "farets" in frying-pans to show they had smoked out Farel.⁷⁰

The story of the exile is a significant illustration of how the Puritan programme of enforcement of the Word of God bred in its adherents a spirit of liberty in matters "where Christ has made them free," and a readiness to "hazard all for the sovereignty of God and the Word of God." The precise question at stake is summed up in a document submitted by Calvin and Farel stating the conditions under which they would return. They insisted that the church should have the right to manage its own affairs according to the Word of God, including the right to discipline its membership and ordain its pastors. The statement of the method of excommunication makes plain what Calvin had in mind in the Articles of 1537: "The proper method of excommunication must be restored according to that which we have prescribed, namely, that by the council there should be chosen from each district of the city upright and judicious men upon whom in joint action with us (i.e. the pastors) that duty should rest."⁷¹

⁶⁹ Calvin and Farel to the Council of Bern, 27 April 1538, in Herminjard, IV, 425.

⁷⁰ The various votes of the council and replies of Calvin and Farel are in *Registres du Conseil*, quoted in Opera, XXI, 223-227; Herminjard, IV, 416, 423-426; Cornelius, pp. 174-179.

⁷¹ The full conditions submitted by Calvin and Farel, May 1, 1538, to the Synod at Zürich are given in Herminjard, *Correspondance*, V, 2-6. They include the points of discipline, excommunication, more frequent communion, singing of

Calvin's opponents in Geneva proved unable to build up either an orderly state or church. They became discredited through their complaisance toward Bern, were charged with treason, and were unable to prevent riotous outbreaks in the city. In 1540 eight leaders were either executed or forced to flee for their lives. At the same time the ministers who had replaced Calvin and Farel also became discredited through their too great complaisance toward the magistrates and through their own weakness; and, feeling unequal to the task, they withdrew from the city. Through the deposition of his opponents in 1540 and their defeat in the following annual election, Calvin's friends came again into full power in 1541, and endeavored to persuade their exiled pastor to return from Strasburg to Geneva. It proved necessary to have recourse to a long series of persistent attempts on the part of councils, cities, churches, and friends in order to overcome Calvin's strong repugnance to give up his agreeable occupation and quiet home life in Strasburg, and to persuade him to undertake again the hard task at Geneva. Calvin knew he could not change his own character or his programme, and he did not know whether he could change the Genevese. In his private letters to his most trusted friends he speaks frankly of the difficulty of the task, his repugnance for it, and his dread of Geneva. "What, therefore, shall we do? Where shall we begin, if we attempt to rebuild the ruined edifice? If I shall speak a word which is unpleasant for them to hear, forthwith they will enjoin silence."⁷² On the 19th of May, 1540, he wrote to Viret: "I could not read without laughing that part of your letter where you show so much solicitude about my health. 'Come to Geneva that I may be better'? Why not say rather 'come straight to the cross'? For it would be far better to perish once for all than to writhe again in that place of torment. Therefore, my dear Viret, if you wish me well, re-

psalms in public worship, already asked for in the Articles of 1537 but not granted. They add a method of adjusting the difficulties about the ordinances of Bern; a division of Geneva into "definite parishes"; a proper increase in the number of ministers; a "legitimate installation of ministers" by ministers; prohibition in both Bern and Geneva of "lascivious and obscene songs and dances composed to the music of the Psalms."

⁷² Opera, X, ii, 325. To Farel, 16 March 1539. Translated in Bonnet, Letters, I, 121.

nounce that project.”⁷³ Five months later he wrote to Farel: “Now that by the favor of God I am delivered, who would not excuse me should I be unwilling to plunge myself once more into the gulf and whirlpool which I have already found to be so dangerous and destructive? . . . They will not be tolerable to me nor I to them.”⁷⁴ On the first of March, 1541, he wrote to Viret: “There is no place under heaven which I could dread more; not because I hate it, but because I see so many difficulties facing me there, which I know I am quite incapable of overcoming. As often as the memory of former times returns, I cannot help shuddering with all my heart at the thought of again entering into those old struggles.”⁷⁵ With this clear perception of the bitter struggle before him, Calvin showed his Puritan spirit in not shrinking from the task which his conscience persuaded him was laid upon him by God. Three days after he had declared to Farel his unwillingness to plunge again into the whirlpool, and had shown that he clearly recognized the incompatibility of temper (*ingenium*) between himself and the Genevese, he came to this resolve: “When I remember that I am not my own, I offer up my heart slain in sacrifice to God. I have no other desire than that they [the Genevese], setting aside all consideration of me, may look only to what is most for the glory of God and the advantage of the church. . . . I am well aware that it is God with whom I have to do. . . . Therefore I submit my soul (*animum*) bound and fettered to obedience to God.”⁷⁶ As one reads these phrases concerning “the glory of God and the advantage of the church,” a “soul bound and fettered to obedience to God,” one is struck with a resemblance to the phrases of the Jesuits, whose order had been founded by papal bull but one month earlier. With all their striking differences in aims and methods, there was a strik-

⁷³ Opera, XI, 36 (in illa carnificina iterum torqueri).

⁷⁴ Ibid. XI, 91, Oct. 21, 1540. Translated in Bonnet, Letters, I, 212.

⁷⁵ Ibid. XI, 167. In Bonnet, I, 231.

⁷⁶ Cor meum velut mactatum Domino in sacrificium offero—mihi esse negotium cum Deo qui huiusmodi astutias deprehendit. Ergo animum meum vinctum et constrictum subigo in obedientiam Dei. To Farel, 24 Oct. 1540. Opera, XI, 100, and Herminjard, Correspondance, VI, 339, give the date correctly as 24 Oct. 1540 rather than Aug. 1531, assumed in Bonnet, Letters, I, 280.

ing resemblance between Loyola and Calvin in their unflinching devotion to what they believed to be for the glory of God.

With such a spirit Calvin returned to the task of a lifetime, the moulding of the mobile, demonstrative, self-assertive Genevese into the sturdy, self-contained Puritan type which he himself represented.⁷⁷ The points in his programme proposed by Calvin in the Articles of 1537 and submitted by him in 1538 as requisite for his return were tacitly granted by Geneva on his recall in 1541. They were included in the systematic "ecclesiastical ordinances" drawn up by Calvin, and amended and adopted by the Genevan council in November, 1541. The Ordinances enacted into law the general features of the Puritan Programme, although the amendments and interpretations by the council interfered with Calvin's more thorough-going provision for the distinct rights of the church.⁷⁸ The Ordinances defined the functions of the four officers of the church (pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons) and prescribed the method of their election and correction. This ecclesiastical constitution divided the city into parishes, and provided for systematic worship, discipline, sacraments, religious and intellectual training of children, and the singing of psalms "by all the church." The Ordinances also included regulations for the marriage ceremony, for burials, and for visitation of the sick, poor, and prisoners; prohibition of begging; and provisions for a later and more explicit set of marriage ordinances. The chief additions to the points already noted in the earlier documents are the definition of the rights and duties of the four officers of the church. "The upright and judicious men" whom Calvin had asked for in 1537 and 1538 he recognized in 1541 for the first

⁷⁷ When Calvin preached his first sermon after his recall in 1541, he began at the same place in the Scriptures where he had left off in his last sermon three and a half years before.

⁷⁸ Calvin's "Projet d'Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques," with the emendations of the council, are given in Opera, X, 15-30. The amended ordinances were adopted by the primary assembly, 20 Nov. 1541; Registres du Conseil, XXXV, fol. 406^{vo}. Calvin's draft with emendations still exists in the archives of Geneva, Pièces Historiques, No. 1384. The oath for the ministers is in Opera, X, 31-32. The revised Ordinances of 1561, *ibid.* 91-124. For the changes which Calvin urged in 1560 in order to secure a sharper distinction between "temporal and spiritual jurisdiction," see 120-123, and note.

time as a distinct order of church officers with the name of elders. The council struck out the name elders (*anciens*) in each of the nine cases where it occurred in Calvin's draft, and substituted for it the title "deputies of the council" (*commis par la seigneurie*). It continued to call them "deputies" and to treat them as such for fourteen years. The twelve elders, or deputies, together with the pastors (six, at first), formed the consistory charged with discipline and, nominally, with excommunication. Calvin won for the consistory the right of excommunication only in 1555, after fourteen years of bitter struggle against the council's refusal to recognize the spiritual rights of the church. Yet the Ordinances indicate a growing emphasis on the distinction between church and state at two points; in the treatment of the distinction between civil and ecclesiastical penalties, and in the oath of the minister.⁷⁹ The minister swore allegiance first to God and his Word, second to the Ordinances, third to the *Seigneurie* (i.e. the Little Council), and fourth to the statutes of the city, "but without prejudice to the liberty which we ought to have of teaching according as God commands us." Here once more we find the sane combination of liberty and law which characterizes Calvin and the Puritan states where Calvinism took root and bore fruit.

In spite of certain personally aristocratic traits in Calvin, his logic and his practical experience led to increasing emphasis of the rights of the people. It has already been pointed out, in the discussion of the editions of the *Institutes*, that in 1543 he modified his opinion in favor of an aristocratic state to an approval (from which he never afterward varied) of "either aristocracy or a mixture of aristocracy and democracy." This system of "a mixed aristocracy" was that advocated by John Winthrop and practised by the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay a century later.⁸⁰ The later years of Calvin's career in Geneva show him fighting to enlarge the number of those entitled to the civil franchise, and to bring about a more representative government in the church. From the time of his triumph in 1555, the policy of

⁷⁹ This oath called for in the Ordinances was passed by the council, 17 July 1542. See Opera, X, 31-32.

⁸⁰ See Winthrop's "Arbitrary Government Described," etc. (1544), in appendix to R. C. Winthrop's *Life of Winthrop*, II, 440-458 (ed. 1869).

freer admission to burgher rights prevailed, and the numbers increased by leaps and bounds—sixty for example in less than four weeks in May 1555.⁸¹ He also tried to enlarge representative government in the church, and to mark out more sharply the distinction between church and state. In 1560 he urged the council to allow the elders to be chosen from the whole membership of the church and not simply from the citizens (*citizens*); he requested the council to consult with the whole body of the ministers and not simply with himself in the election of elders, and to discriminate between ecclesiastical discipline and civil penalty; and he suggested a definite opportunity for any one to offer objections to candidates for the ministry.

The council proved ready to accept the last two proposals. In regard to the first, the opening of the eldership to the whole membership of the church, the magistrates frankly acknowledged the logic of Calvin's proposition as following the "Word of God," but even in the days of Calvin's ascendancy they were not prepared to go as far as Calvin wished. Before Calvin came to Geneva, there had been a natural tendency in time of war to centralize authority in the hands of the small and somewhat aristocratic council. On the whole, Calvin's influence tended to prevent this somewhat dangerous development of a political oligarchy and aided a gradual development of representative government. This influence was continued under his successor, so that the aristocratic elements only succeeded in developing unhindered after the ministry grew weak in the later period succeeding Beza.⁸²

The political constitution of Geneva had been fixed before the coming of Calvin. He shared, however, in a codification of its civil law drawn up in 1543. Of this feature of his work Rousseau, by no means a Puritan or Calvinist, but nevertheless a by-product of Geneva, wrote thus in his *Social Contract*: "Those who consider Calvin only as a theologian fail to recognize the breadth of his genius. The editing of our wise laws, in which he had a large

⁸¹ See Choisy, *Théocratie*, pp. 175, 185.

⁸² See "Geneva before Calvin," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, Jan. 1903, pp. 221, 237-238, and notes. For Calvin's proposals and the council's votes in 1560 regarding sharper distinction between church and state see *Opera* X, 120-123.

share, does him as much honor as his *Institutes*. Whatever revolution time may bring in our religion, so long as the love of country and liberty is not extinct among us, the memory of this great man will be held in reverence."⁸³ Calvin's contribution to the administration and public law of Geneva, and the marvellous political sagacity and effectiveness which he continued to develop until he became one of the shrewdest practical politicians and most effective statesmen of Europe, foreshadow the keen interest which the Puritan, whether minister or layman, took in the affairs of state. An active interest in politics on the part of every citizen was one of the articles of Puritan faith, one of the axioms of the Puritan state.

Several features of the economic programme of the Puritan state had developed in Geneva by 1541. In the "Liberties, franchises, immunities, usages and customs" granted to Geneva by her prince bishop in 1387, the taking of interest had been recognized and protected.⁸⁴ Possibly this existing custom may have aided Calvin to see the justice of interest-taking. His attitude toward it illustrates his attitude toward the Scripture; it also illustrates the economic advantage resulting to Protestantism through a more rational use of the Bible and a revision of the canon law. Calvin took the general ground that both reason and equity were to be used in the interpretation of Scripture. The essential aim, and not the form, of a scriptural injunction should be preserved, as was the case in his interpretation of the commandment regarding the Sabbath. "God gave not that law by the hand of Moses to be promulgated among all nations, and to be universally binding; but in all the laws which he gave them he had a special regard to their circumstances."⁸⁵ Calvin, moreover, was not a literalist, but was ready to recognize and publicly point out such "errors" of fact in the Bible as the use of Jeremiah for Zechariah in Matthew 27 9;⁸⁶ the use of twenty for twenty-five (Acts 7 14,

⁸³ Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, Liv. ii, ch. 7, note.

⁸⁴ The Latin text of the *franchises* of 1387 with the French translations of 1455 was published by E. Mallet in *Mémoires et documents de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève*, II, 271-399. For interest-taking, see Arts. 34, 35, 39, 77.

⁸⁵ *Institutes*, Opera, I, 239.

⁸⁶ Opera, XLV, 749.

—*ex errore librariorum*); or of Abraham in Acts 7 16, where he frankly says that Luke drew upon tradition rather than upon Moses, and adds, "there is plainly a mistake, and this place should be corrected."⁸⁷ Calvin therefore found no "absolute condemnation" of interest-taking in the Scriptures; for "the law of Moses (Deut. 23 19) is political, and it constrains us no further than equity and human reason demand."⁸⁸ In accordance therefore with his general appeal to reason and equity, and his sound interpretation that the essential thing in the law was the prevention of oppression and not the prohibition of earning money through the use of money, Calvin declared that interest-taking was right and not unscriptural, provided only the interest was not unreasonable. Calvin pointed out effectively the fallacy of the barrenness of money, and showed that it was no more sinful to take interest on money than to invest the money in a house and take rent. "Calvin's teaching," says Professor Ashley, "was, in a very real sense, a turning-point in the history of European thought."⁸⁹ The effect of such an interpretation was of great economic importance, for it gave Calvinists who accepted it, including the two great commercial nations, the Dutch and the English, a decisive economic advantage over Catholics or Lutherans, who still clung to the canon law prohibition of interest-taking. Incidentally Calvin's interpretation illustrated his tendency toward a re-examination and a freer interpretation of Scripture and toward greater intellectual and economic freedom.

The productive power of the Puritan was increased by his attitude toward labor. The attitude of Calvin and the Puritan was like that of St. Paul, "He who will not work shall not eat."⁹⁰ Energetic and tireless himself, Calvin had no sympathy for "idle bellies who chirp sweetly in the shade."⁹¹ Work in Geneva was

⁸⁷ Opera, XLVIII, 137, 138.

⁸⁸ Ibid. X, 246, De usuris.

⁸⁹ Calvin's letter on usury is in Opera, X, 245-249. Ashley, *Economic History*, II, 458-460. See also R. H. Dana, Jr., in *Mass. House of Rep.*, Feb. 14, 1867. Reprinted in *Economic Tracts No. IV*, published by the Amer. Soc. for Political Education, 1881. See pp. 32-36, 43.

⁹⁰ See Kampschulte, Calvin, I, 429.

⁹¹ Letter to Daniel, Geneva, Oct. 13, 1536, in Opera, X, ii, 64 : *otiosis illis ventribus, qui apud vos suaviter in umbra garriunt*. Translated in Bonnet, *Letters*, I, 46.

obligatory six days in the week. On the 4th of June, 1537, the council took action to enforce the working part of the Fourth Commandment which they had just approved and printed in their city creed. "There was a discussion regarding the people who observe holidays, and it was voted that every one must work as already proclaimed, without observing holidays save on Sunday. This shall be proclaimed ward by ward (*dizenne*) and under penalty of fine. In case of poor people, the men shall pay three sous, the women six liards; the rich shall be fined amounts to be levied in the Little Council. The tithing-men (*dizenniers*) who deal with a man shall share in the fine."⁹² In March, 1538, the councillors, as a part of their anti-clerical and anti-French policy, had insisted on the observance of the four ecclesiastical holidays desired by Bern. Calvin and Farel were ready to agree to this, "provided the somewhat imperious form of the imposition be done away with, and liberty be granted to those who wish to betake themselves to work after the sermon."⁹³ Here is a striking form of economic liberty—liberty to work six days in the week. Some of the extremists left behind in Geneva after Calvin's exile in April, 1538, were ready to go further than Calvin. They illustrate a later Puritan tendency to a very literal interpretation of Scripture which would regard any holiday save Sunday as unscriptural.⁹⁴ This was to out-Calvin Calvin. True to their convictions, however, these extremists refused to go to the communion on Christmas day in 1538. When summoned before the council, they justified themselves for their refusal on the ground that "it says in the commandment of God six days shalt thou labor, whereas Christmas day has been made a holiday."⁹⁵ This is

⁹² Registres du Conseil, XXX, fol. 248, printed in Opera, XXI, 211.

⁹³ Herminjard, Correspondance, V, 4; also in Cornelius, Arbeiten, p. 182, note 3. This liberty was one of the conditions which Calvin and Farel presented to the synod at Zürich as essential before they would return to Geneva.

⁹⁴ This attitude was protested against by the Bernese and Genevan ministers after Calvin's exile. See Herminjard, Correspondance, V, 137, and note 9; *ibid.* pp. 137-138, for the criticism of the extremists by the Bernese and Genevan ministers.

⁹⁵ "Pource quil dist aut commandement de dieu six jour tu travailleras et que lon avoyt fayct le jour de noel feste," is the quaint entry in the Genevan Registres du Conseil, XXXII, fol. 255, for 27th Dec. 1538.

probably the first example of the Puritan layman objecting to the observance of Christmas or to the imposing of a religious holiday by the action of the state. More sane and practical was the interpretation which Calvin added to his second edition of the catechism, published the year after his return to Geneva. "In what way," asks the minister, "do you understand that this commandment is given likewise for the relief of servants?" The child replies: "To give some relaxation (*relasche*) to those who are in the power of others. And this also contributes to public order. For each one gets used to working the rest of the time when there is a day of rest."⁹⁶ Spendthrifts (*dissipateurs de biens*) were one class of offenders subject to excommunication in the Confession of 1537. In the Ordinances of 1541 the tithing-men and other officers were charged with enforcement of laws against begging. The requirement of labor was again insisted on in 1560, in proclamations made throughout the city. Under the head of "Dissoluteness" it was ordered, "that no one be so bold or impudent as to commit fornication, get drunk, play the vagabond, or even lose his time, or lead others into dissipation; but that each one must work according to his station, under penalty of being punished by the law according to the nature of the case."⁹⁷ The Puritan state, by making the idler suffer both ecclesiastical and civil penalties, and by insisting upon labor by every one, contributed not only to its public order but to its economic efficiency. As Weber has pointed out, the Calvinist had a "calling" not merely in a religious but also in an economic sense.⁹⁸

A study of the measures taken in Geneva would reveal a very sane and efficient care for the social welfare of the people and for sounder economic conditions. In his first edition of the *Institutes* Calvin had laid down the necessity of equitable taxation. "Taxes are not so much private revenues as the treasury of the whole people, or rather the blood of the people and aids of public necessity;

⁹⁶ Opera, V, 65.

⁹⁷ Proclamation of 1560, reprinted by Cazenove (Montpellier, 1879). Quoted in Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, I, 166.

⁹⁸ M. Weber, "Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus," in *Archiv für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*, XX; for effect of "Beruf," "calling," see p. 38 and following, and Part ii, *ibid.* XXI, 1-110 (Tübingen, 1905).

to burden the people with which without cause would be tyrannical rapacity." ⁹⁹ In the Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1541 discriminating provision was made for the care of the poor and sick. The hospital was to be better maintained, and the sick were to be separated from the children and old people. Special hospitals were to be established for transients and "for those who shall seem to be worthy of special charity"; and a separate hospital was to be maintained for the pest. Provision was made for a quarterly inspection of the hospitals, and for a physician and a surgeon, in the pay of the city, charged with the care of the hospital and the visitation of the other sick poor throughout the city.¹⁰⁰ Calvin, usually at the request of the magistrates but sometimes at his own suggestion, concerned himself with the sewers of the city; the re-establishment of weaving industries, and the investigation of new methods of heating; with matrimonial questions; and with protection against fire.¹⁰¹

An appeal to sincere and deep religious feeling had a large place in the development of the profound devotion and the militant temper of the Puritan state. In recommending the training of children to lead the singing in public worship until gradually all should learn to lift their hearts to God, Calvin was working on long lines. This recommendation in the Articles of 1537 was renewed in 1538 as one of the conditions essential to his return. During the next three years, spent at Strasburg, Calvin drew up for the church of French refugees of which he was pastor an order of worship based on Bucer's modification of Schwarz' translation of the Roman Mass. After his return to Geneva Calvin modified his Strasburg liturgy, making it less Roman; omitting, for example, the promise of absolution, though retaining

⁹⁹ Opera, I, 206.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. X, 23-25. A careful study of medical conditions in Geneva to the end of the 18th century has been published by Dr. Leon Gautier in the *Mém. et doc. de la Soc. d'Hist. et d'Arch. de Genève*, 2nd series, Tome X.

¹⁰¹ See Opera, X, under the various "Ordonnances" and "Consilia," especially 125-146, 203-210, 231-266. For the new method of heating see Opera, XVI, 496, with sketch of furnace; see comments in Roget, *Histoire*, V, 58. See also references in Kampschulte, *Calvin*, I, 428-430; and in H. Wiskemann, *Darstellung der in Deutschland zur Zeit der Reformation herrschenden national-ökonomischen Ansichten* (Leipzig, 1861), pp. 79-87.

the striking confession of sins at the opening of the service. His other changes gave an increased importance to the singing of Psalms. The singing of a Psalm was substituted for the Commandments; and another Psalm replaced the Apostles' Creed. The Genevan liturgy was also made more adaptable by giving a place for extempore as well as prescribed form of prayer. In this Genevan liturgy of 1542 four elements of the Reformed or Puritan worship are worth noting. First, the confession of sins at the beginning of the service, drawn upon by both Reformed and Anglican churches; second, the adaptability of worship to different times and places, through diplomatic omissions and through combination of free and fixed prayer; third, the provision for a deeper emotional element through music; and, fourth, the swinging militant lilt that runs through psalm and prayer. The Psalms translated by Marot, Calvin, and Beza were to prove the consolation of the persecuted, while the Psalm of Battle became the Protestant Marseillaise (as Doumergue has called it) of the victorious Huguenots. Sung in the mother tongue by all worshippers, these psalms introduced both a democratic and an emotional element greatly needed in the Protestant service as Calvin found it. In the noble prayers, there is the same militant Puritan ring that appears in the introduction to the Latin catechism of 1538 and in the psalms. The prayer after the sermon closes with a paragraph which summed up the Puritan purpose, sought the Divine aid to accomplish it, and sent out the citizens fired with a zeal to "win a complete victory." As translated by Knox in Scotland it ran thus:

And forasmuch as of ourselves we are so weak, that we are not able to stand upright one minute of an hour, and also that we are so belaid and assaulted evermore with such a multitude of so dangerous enemies, that the devil, the world, sin, and our own concupiscences, do never leave off to fight against us: let it be Thy good pleasure to strengthen us with Thy Holy Spirit, and to arm us with Thy grace, that thereby we may be able constantly to withstand all temptations, and to persevere in this spiritual battle against sin, until such time as we shall obtain the full victory, and so at length may triumphantly rejoice in Thy Kingdom, with our Captain and Governor Jesus Christ our Lord.¹⁰²

¹⁰² Sprott and Leishman, *Book of Common Order*, pp. 96-97. The editors followed the edition of 1611, but modernized the spelling.

The Genevan liturgy was marked by a felicitous combination of simplicity and dignity, giving it a power and flexibility which led to its adoption by the Reformed churches in Geneva, Holland, France, Scotland, and by the Early Puritans in England.¹⁰³ There is much in both its spirit and its form which would still be of service to many churches unaware of the richness of their own Puritan liturgical inheritance.

One other feature of the Puritan programme of worship indicates the practical attitude of mind of the Puritan in all lands and his keen interest in social welfare. To "psalms and hymns of praise, the reading of the gospel, the confession of faith," Calvin added in the communion service "holy oblations and offerings." The contribution was a part of worship. "As children of God who seek his kingdom and his justice, . . . we offer and submit ourselves entirely to God the Father and to our Lord Jesus Christ, in recognition of so many and so great benefits. And we testify this by offerings and holy gifts (as Christian charity requires) which are given to Jesus Christ through his little ones, those who hunger or thirst, or are naked, or are strangers, or sick or in prison."¹⁰⁴ The Puritan was a thrifty man of business, but he was also a generous benefactor. It was thoroughly characteristic of the Puritan that the University of Geneva should have been founded not only upon a public grant by a representative assembly, but also upon gifts by citizens of all classes, even by Jénou the baker woman who gave five sous.¹⁰⁵

One of the fundamental characteristics of Puritan states was their care for education. In the turmoil of 1538, a few months

¹⁰³ Strype, *Life of Grindal*, ch. xii, p. 114; *Life of Parker*, Bk. iv, ch. v, p. 325. Cf. Procter and Frere, *Hist. of Bk. of Common Prayer*, pp. 86 ff., 131-133. Calvin's Liturgy, or "Form of Prayers," for Geneva of 1542 is in Opera, VI, 173-184. Knox's translation is in various editions, most conveniently in Sprott and Leishman, *Book of Common Order of Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1868). It is also in Knox's Works (ed. Laing), VI, ii, pp. 293 ff.; "The Form of Prayers, etc., used in the English Church of Geneva," *ibid.* IV, 141-214. The English Puritan's use of the "Genevan form" is commented upon by Strype in his *Life of Grindal* p. 169, and *Life of Parker*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁴ The subject of Calvin's liturgy is discussed in Doumergue, *Calvin*, II, 479-524, with bibliography; and is briefly summed up in Walker's *Calvin*, pp. 222-226.

¹⁰⁵ Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, I, 35.

before the exile of the preachers, there was published in Latin and French the programme of the College, or Gymnasium, in Geneva. It was probably drawn up by Antoine Saunier, the prefect, and reviewed by Calvin and Maturin Cordier. In general it followed the two leading ideas of Sturm, the development of knowledge conducive to piety and the gradation of the school into classes. But the object of the school was not simply the preservation of the church but also "political administration and the maintenance of humanity among men." There is a modern and practical tendency noticeable in the provision for a living language, French, "which is by no means to be despised," and for the "art of arithmetic, that is, numbering, figuring, and calculating." Exercises began at five, stopped at ten for dinner, and continued in the afternoon. Place was found in the daily programme for the repetition of the three documents on which the *Institutes*, the Confession, and the Catechism were based (the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed), and for a chapter in the Bible, all in French. As especial inducements at Geneva, the circular pointed out the frequent disputations on the Christian religion, five sermons on the pure Word of God on Sunday and two on each week-day, with "the hours so distributed that one may easily attend all the sermons one after the other"—a Puritan total of seventeen possible sermons a week! The logical necessity for education in a Biblical commonwealth is recognized in the closing paragraphs of the circular: "Although we defer primarily to the Word of God, we do not reject good training (*bonas disciplinas*), which rightly occupies second place. For these two things work together best when united in this order, so that the Word of God is the foundation of all knowledge, and the liberal arts are props and aids to the full knowledge of the Word, and not to be despised." ¹⁰⁶

On his recall to Geneva, Calvin included in the Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1541 a definition of the work of the "teachers" (*docteurs*), who were to form the second order of church officers.

¹⁰⁶ The Latin text of the "Programme" of Jan. 12, 1538, is printed in Herminjard, *Correspondance*, IV, 455-460. It was printed in French at the same time, and reprinted by Bétant in 1866. See also Buisson, *Castellion*, I, 145-149; Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, I, 16-18.

That part of their function which was related most closely to the government of the church consisted in lecturing on theology based on both the Old and New Testaments. "But since one cannot profit by such studies unless he be first instructed in languages and human sciences, and since also there is need of preserving the seed for the future in order that the church may not be left naked to our children, it will be necessary to organize a college for instructing the children in order to prepare them for both the ministry and the civil government." This paragraph is instinct with the thought, and almost the phraseology, which later found expression in the words of the author of *New England's First Fruits* and in the New England statutes regarding education. The Ordinances went on to indicate the steps which should be taken. There should be a place suitable for instruction and for the residence of children and others who may wish to profit by it; a man fit to manage both the house and the teaching; lectures in languages and dialectic; and bachelors for teaching the small children. There should be no other school for the children, save that the girls should have their school apart as heretofore. "All those who shall be there shall be subject to the ecclesiastical discipline as the ministers are." This subjected teachers as well as pastors to a very severe system of discipline, either at the hands of the consistory, with final report to the council, or directly at the hands of the council if the crime were punishable by the civil law. The ministers were to meet weekly for conference on the Scripture to preserve purity of doctrine, and quarterly to remedy any other offences among them. A formidable list of some thirty-four offences was included for which a minister might be tried, eighteen "utterly intolerable crimes," and sixteen vices which could be met through "fraternal admonitions." To all these provisions the teaching force was to be subjected. To this the council made no objection, though it had already so modified Calvin's proposals for discipline of all ministers (including the teachers) as to reserve to itself the final decision in all cases. On one point, however, the council modified Calvin's statement regarding the teachers. This was as to their election. The council was unwilling to leave this to the ministers, but provided for the council's co-operation before, after, and during the examination of candidates.

To the development of the college thus outlined in 1541 Calvin gave much thought and time. The culmination of the Puritan intellectual programme for Geneva, the establishment of a university with fully organized higher instruction, was delayed until 1559, when Geneva, in the words of the scholarly historian of its University, became "a church, a school, and a fortress."¹⁰⁷

These early years of the work of Calvin and Geneva, from 1536 to 1541, cover only the beginning of the programme for a Puritan state; not its realization, nor all its phases, nor its limitations. Another generation was to witness the victorious outcome of the long and bitter fight to carry out the plan of campaign of the church and state militant. Yet the beginning of the struggle reveals the tendencies which ultimately worked out those by-products of the Puritan state which the modern world regards among its dearest possessions, civil and religious liberty, economic efficiency, and sound learning.

Even in its own day, the early Puritan programme, by its insistent emphasis on moral obligation and moral training, economic efficiency, sound learning, the freedom of the church, and the preservation of liberty through law, bred a militant temper, ready to "hazard life for the sovereignty of God and the Word of God," and a moral vigor and political insight fit to cope with the moral indifference and the political absolutism which threatened the age of Machiavelli, Rabelais, and Philip II.

¹⁰⁷ Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, I, 83.